THE

Prince of Orange

HIS

DECLARATION:

SHEWING THE

REASONS

Why he Invades ENGLAND.

WITH

A Short PREFACE:

AND SOME

MODEST REMARKS on it.

Re-Printed at *Edinburgh*, by the Heir of *Andrew Anderson*, Printer to His most Sacred *Majesty*, *Anno Dom.* 1688.

The Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, shewing the Reasons, why he Invades *England*, with a short Preface, and some modest Remarks on it.

THere having been various Discourses about the Reasonableness and Justice of the Dutch Invasion, the Prince's great Love and special Care of the Protestant Religion, and English Protestants, set forth in the most Charming manner, and the Desperateness of the Protestant State and Condition, painted in the blackest and most frightful Colours; Our Natural Leige Lord, notwithstanding his Unparalell'd Grace to all, Represented as designing the greatest Cruelty against his own Subjects; Strange Stories of ill things whispered, and nothing less than a Secret League between His Majesty of Great-Britain, and the French King, to Extirpate all Protestants entred into: These Reports are with so much Art and Cunning spread, as to Startle the most Considering Protestants of all Persuasions, whence nothing could be more eagerly desired, than a sight of the Prince of Orange's Declaration. For the Expectations of most Men are, That some Extraordinary Secrets, some hidden Works of darkness should be reveal'd and brought to Light; or generally those, who yet never saw the Prince's Declaration, do still believe it: But there not being one word of any such Treaty, we cannot see why it is that the Prince comes Over; and if others impartially Peruse the Declaration, we doubt not but it will Convince them, that they give no Reason powerful enough to Justifie so bloody an Enterprise, as this, in the Issue must needs be.

We will therefore give you a true Copy of the Princes Declaration, word for word, as it runs in the Dutch.

THE

The DECLARATION of His Highness WILLIAM HENRY, By the Grace of GOD, PRINCE of ORANGE, &c. of the Reasons inducing Him, to appear in Arms in the Kingdom of England, for Preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for Restoring the Laws and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland.

IT is both certain, and Evident to all men, that the Publick Peace and Happiness of any State or Kingdom, cannot be preserved, where the Laws, Liberties, and Customs established, by the Lawful Authority in it, are openly Transgressed and Annulled: More especially where the alteration of *Religion* is endeavoured, and that *Religion* which is contrary to Law is endeavoured to be introduced: Upon which, those who are most Immediately Concerned in it, are Indispensably bound, to endeavour to Preserve and maintain the established Laws, Liberties and Customes: and above all the Religion and Worship of God, that is Established among them: And to take such an effectual care, that the Inhabitants of the said State or Kingdom, may neither be deprived of their *Religion*, nor of their Civil Rights. Which is so much the more Necessary, because the Greatness and Security both of Kings, Royal families, and of all such as are in Authority, as well as the Happiness of their Subjects and People, depend, in a most especial manner, upon the exact observation, and maintenance of these their Laws, Liberties, and Customes.

Upon these grounds it is, that we cannot any longer forbear, to Declare that to our great regret, we see that those Councellours, who have now the chief credit with the King, have overturned the Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of those Realms: and subjected them in all things relating to their Consciences, Liberties, and Properties, to Arbitrary Government, and that not only by secret and Indirect wayes, but in an open and undisguised manner.

Those evil Councellours for the advancing and colouring this, with some plausible pretexts, did invent and set on foot, the King's *Dispensing power*, by vertue of which, they pretend that according to *Law*, he can *Suspend* and *Dispense* with the Execution of the Lawes that have been enacted by the Authority of the King and Parliament, for the security and happiness of the Subjects, and so have rendered those Laws of no effect: The there is nothing more certain, than that as no Lawes can be made, but by the joint concurrence of King and Parliament, so likewise Laws so enacted, which secure the publick peace, and safety of the Nations, and the lives and liberties of every subject in it, cannot be repealed or suspended but by the same authority.

For tho the King may pardon the punishment, that a Transgressour has incurr'd and to which he is condemned, as in the case of *Treason* or *Felony*; yet it can not be with any colour of reason, inferred from thence, that the King can entirely suspend the execution of those Laws, relating to *Treason* or *Felony*: Unless it is pretended, that he is clothed with a Despotick and Arbitrary power, and that the Lives, Liberties, Honours and Estates of the Subjects, depend wholly on his good will and pleasure, and are entirely subject to him; which must infallibly follow, on the Kings having a power to *suspend* the execution of the Laws, and to dispense with them.

Those Evil Councellours, in order to the giving some credit to this strange and execrable Maxime, have so conducted the matter, that they have obtained a Sentence from the Judges, declaring that this *Dispensing power*, is a Right belonging to the *Crown*; as if it were in the power of the twelve Judges to offer up the Laws, Rights, and Liberties, of the whole Nation, to the King, to be disposed of by him Arbitrarily and at his pleasure, and expressly contrary to Laws enacted, for the security of the Subjects. In order to the obtaining

And to that end, those Evil Councellours did before hand; examine secretly, the Opinion of the Judges, and procured such of them as could not in Conscience concur in so pernicious a Sentence; to be turned out, and others to be substituted in their Rooms till by the changes which were made, in the Courts of Judicature, they at last obtained that Judgement. And they have raised some to those Trusts, who make open Profession of the Popish Religion, though those are by Law Rendred Incapable of all such Employments.

It is also Manifest and Notorious, that as his Majesty was, upon his coming to the Crown, received and acknowledged by all the subjects of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as their *King* without the least opposition, tho he made then open profession of the *Popish Religion*; so he did then Promise, and Solemnly Swear, at his Coronation, that he would maintain his subjects, in the free enjoyment of their Lawes, and Liberties, and in particular, that he would maintain the *Church of England as it was established by Law*: It is likewise certain, that there have been at diverse and sundry times, several Laws enacted for the preservation of those Rights, and Liberties, and of the Protestant Religion: and among other Securities, it has been enacted that all persons whatsoever, that are advanced to any Ecclesiastical Dignity, or to bear Office in either University, as likewise all other, that should be put in any imployment, Civil or Military, should declare that they were not Papists, but were of the Protestant Religion, and that by their taking of the Oaths of *Allegiance*, and *Supremacy*, and the Test, yet these Evil Councellors have in effect annulled and abolished all those Laws, both with relation to Ecclesiastical and Civil Employments.

In order to Ecclesiastical Dignities and Offices, they have not only without any colour of Law, but against most expresse Laws to the contrary, set up a Commission, of a certain Number of persons, to whom they have committed the cognisance and direction of all Ecclesiastical matters: in the which Commission there has been and still is one of His Majesties Ministers of State, who makes now publick profession of the Popish Religion, and who at the time of his first professing it, declared that for a great while before, he had believed that to be the only true Religion. By all this, the deplorable State to which the Protestant Religion is reduced is Apparent, since the Affairs of the Church of *England*, are now put into the hands of Persons, who have accepted of a Commission that is manifestly Illegal; and who have executed it contrary to all Law; and that now one of their chief Members has abjured the *Protestant Religion*, and declared himself a *Papist*: by which he is become incapable of holding any Publick Imployment: The said Commissioners have hitherto given such proof of their submission to the directions given them, that there is no reason to doubt, but they will still continue to promote all such designs as will be most aggreable to them. And those Evil Counsellours take care, to raise none to any Ecclesiastical dignities, but persons that have no zeal for the *Protestant Religion*, and that now hide their unconcernednesse for it under the specious pretence of *Moderation*. The said Commissioners have suspended the Bishop of *London*, only because he refused to obey an order, that was sent him to suspend a Worthy Divine, without so much as calling him before him, to make his own Defence, or observing the common formes of Processe: They have turned out a President, chosen by the fellows of *Magdalen Colledge*, & after wards all the Fellows of that Colledge, without so much as citing them before any Court that could take legal cognisance of that affair; or obtaining any Sentence against them by a Competent Judge. And the only reason, that was given, for turning them out, was their refusing to choose for their President; a Person that was recommended to them, by the Instigation of those evil Councellours, tho the right of a free Election belonged undoubtedly to them. But they were turned out of their freeholds, contrary to Law, and to that expresse provision in the *Magna Charta*; *that no man shal lose life or Goods, but by the Law of the land.* And now these evil Councellours have put the said Colledge wholly into the hands of Papists,

pists, tho as is above-said, they are incapable, of all such Employments, both by the Law of the Land, and the Statutes of the Colledge. These Commissioners have also cited before them all the Chancellours and Archdeacons of England, requiring them to certifie to them the names of all such Clergymen, as have read the Kings declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, and of such as have not read it; without considering that the reading of it was not enjoined the Clergy, by the Bishops, who are their Ordinaries. The Illegality and Incompetency of the said Court of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, was so notoriously known, and it did so evidently appear, that it tended to the Subversion of the *Protestant Religion*, that the Most Reverend Father in God, *William* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*, seeing that it was raised for no other end, but to oppress such persons as were of Eminent Vertue, Learning, and Piety, refused to sit or consent in it.

And tho there are many expresse Laws against all Churches or Chappels, for the exercise of the Popish Religion, and also against all Monasteries and Convents, and more particularly against the order of the *Jesuits*, yet those Evil counsellours have procured orders for the building of several Churches and Chappels, for the Exercise of that Religion: They have also procured diverse Monasteries to be Erected, and in contempt of the Law they have not only set up severall Colledges of *Jesuits*, in diverse places, for the corrupting of the youth, but have raised up one of the *Order*, to be a Privy Counsellour and a Minister of State. By all which they do evidently shew that they are restrained by no rules of Law whatsoever; but that they have subjected the Honours and Estates of the subjects, and the Established Religion, to a Despotick power and to Arbitrary Government: In all which they are served and seconded by those Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

They have also followed the same methods with Relation to Civil affairs: For they have procured Orders, to examine all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, and all others that were in any Publick Imployment, if they would concur with the King in the Repeal of the *Test* and *Penal Laws*: and all such, whose Consciences did not suffer them to comply with their designs, were turned out; and others were put in their places, who they believed would be more Compliant to them; in their Designs of defeating the Intent and Execution of those Laws, which had been made with so much care and caution, for the Security of the *Protestant Religion*. And in many of these places they have put professed Papists, though the Law has disabled them, and warranted the subjects not to have any regard to their Orders.

They have also invaded the Priviledges and seised on the Charters of most of these Towns that have a right to be represented by their Burgesses in Parliament: and have procured surrenders to be made of them, by which the Magistrates in them have delivered up all their Rights, and Priviledges, to be disposed of, at the pleasure of those Evil Counsellours: who have thereupon, placed new Magistrates in those Towns, such as they can most entirely confide in: and in many of them they have put Popish Magistrates, notwithstanding the Incapacities under which the Law has put them.

And whereas no Nation whatsoever can subsist without the administration of good and impartial Justice, upon which mens Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Estates, do depend: those Evil Counsellours have subjected these to an Arbitrary and Despotick power: In the most important affairs they have studied to discover before hand, the Opinions of the Judges; and they have turned out such as they found would not conform themselves to their intentions; and have put others in their places of whom they were more assured, without having any regard to their abilities. And they have not stuck to raise even professed Papists, to the court of Judicature, notwithstanding their Incapacity by Law, and that no regard is due to any Sentences flowing from them. They have carried this so far, as to deprive such Judges, who in the common administration of Justice, shewed that they

they were governed by their Consciences, and not by the directions which the others gave them. By which it is apparent that they design to render themselves the absolute Masters of the Lives, Honour and Estates of the Subjects, of what rank, or dignity soever they may be: and that they thus having no regard either to the equity of the cause, or to the Consciences of the Judges; whom they will have to submit in all things, to their own will, and pleasure; hoping by such ways, to Intimidate those who are yet in Employment, as also such others, as they shall think fit, to put in the Rooms of those whom they have turned out; and to make them see, what they must look for, if they should at any time act in the least contrary to their good liking: and that no failings of that kind, are pardoned, in any persons whatsoever. A great deal of blood has been shed in many places of the Kingdom, by Judges governed by those Evil Counsellors, against all the rules and forms of Law; without so much as suffering the persons that were accused, to plead in their own Defence.

They have also by putting the administration of justice, in the hands of Papists, brought all the matters of Civil Justice into great uncertainties; with how much exactness and justice soever that their Sentences may have been given. For since the Laws of the Land do not only exclude Papists from all places of Judicature, but have put them under an Incapacity, none are bound to acknowledge or to obey their judgements, and all Sentences given by them are null and void of themselves: so that all persons, who have been cast in Trials before such Popish Judges, may justly look on their Pretended Sentences, as having no more force, than the Sentences of any private and unauthorised person whatsoever. So deplorable is the case of the Subjects, who are obliged to answer to such Judges, that must in all things stick to the Rules, which are set them by those evil Counsellors, who as they raised them up to those Employments, so can turn them out of them at pleasure; and who can never be esteemed Lawful Judges; so that all their Sentences are in the Construction of the Law of no force and Efficacy. They have likewise disposed of all Military Employments, in the same manner; For tho the Laws have not only Excluded Papists, from all such Employments, but have in particular, Provided that they should be Disarmed; yet they in Contempt of these Laws, have not only armed the Papists, but have likewise raised them up to the greatest Military Trusts, both by Sea and Land, and that Strangers as well as Natives, and Irish as well as English; that so by those means, having rendred themselves Masters both of the affairs of the Church, of the Government of the Nation, and of the course of Justice, to subjected them all to a Despotick and Arbitrary power, they might be in a Capacity to Invade and Execute their wicked designs, by the assistance of the Army, and thereby to enslave the Nation.

The dismal effects of this Subversion of the established Religion, Laws and liberties in England appear more evidently to us, by what we see done in Ireland; where the whole Government is put in the hands of Papists, and where all the Protestant Inhabitants are under the daily fears of what may be justly apprehended, from the Arbitrary Power which is set up there: which has made great numbers of them, leave that Kingdom, and abandon their Estates in it, remembring well that Cruel and Bloody Massacre, which fell out in that Island in the year 1641.

Those Evil Councellors have also prevailed with the King to declare in Scotland, that he is clothed with *Absolute Power*, and that all the Subjects are bound *to obey him without Reserve*: upon which he has assumed an Arbitrary Power, both over the Religion and Laws of that Kingdom, from all which it is apparent, what is to be looked for in England, as soon as matters are duely prepared for it.

These great and insufferable Oppressions, and the open Contempt of all Law, together with the apprehensions of the sad Consequences that must certainly follow upon it, have put the Subjects under just and just fears; and have made them look after such lawful Remedies as are allowed of in all cases: yet all has been without effect. And those Evil Councellors have endeavoured to make Men apprehend, the losse of their Lives, Liberty, Honours, and Estates, if they should go about to preserve themselves from this Oppression, by Petitions, Representations, or other means authorised by Law. Thus did they proceed with the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops who having offered a most humble petition to the King, in terms full of Respect, and not exceeding the number limited by Law, in which they set forth in short, the Reasons, for which they could not

obey

obey that order, which by the Instigation of those Evil Counsellers, was sent them, requiring them to appoint their Clergy to read in their Churches the Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*; were seuero prisons, and afterwards brought to a Trial, As if they had been guilty of some enormous Crime. They were not only obliged to defend themselves in that posture, but to appear before Professed Papists, who had not taken the Test, and by Consequence were such whose Interest led them to condemn them: and the Judges that gave their opinion in their favours were thereupon turned out.

And yet it cannot be pretended, that any Kings, how great soever their power has been, and how Arbitrary and Despotick soever, they have been in the exercise of it, have ever reckoned it a crime for their Subjects to come, in all Submission and Respect, and in a due number, not exceeding the limits of the Law, and represent to them the Reasons that made it impossible for them to obey their orders. Those Evil Counsellors have also treated a Peer of the Realm as Criminal, only because he said that the subjects were not bound to obey the orders of a Popish Justice of Peace: tho it is Evident, that they being by Law, rendred incapable of all such trusts, no regard is due to their orders. This being the Security which the people have by the Law for their Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Estates, that they are not to be subjected to the Arbitrary proceedings of Papists, that are contrary to Law, put into any employment in Civil or Military.

Both we ourselves, and our Dearest and most Entirely Beloved Consort the Princess, have endeavoured to signify in terms full of respect, to the King, the just and deep Regret with all these proceedings have given us; and in Compliance with his Majesties desires signified to us, We declared both by word of mouth, to his Envoy, and in writing, what our thoughts were touching the Repealing of the *Test* and *Penal Laws*; which we did in such a manner, that we hoped we had proposed an Expedient, by which the Peace of those Kingdoms, and a happy agreement among the Subjects of all Persuasions, might have been settled: but those Evil Counsellers, have put such ill Constructions on these our good Intentions, that they have endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from us; as if We had designed, to subvert the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

The first and great Remedy for all those Evils, is *the calling a Parliament*, for reuniting the Nation, against the evil practises of those wicked Counsellours, but this could not be yet compassed, nor can it be easily brought about, for those Men apprehending, that a lawful Parliament, being once assembled, they would be brought to an account, for all their open violations of Law, and for their Plots and Conspiracies against the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects, they have endeavoured under the specious Pretence of *Liberty of conscience*, first to sow division among Protestants, between those of the Church of *England* and the Dissenters. The design being laid to engage Protestants, that are all equally concerned, to preserve themselves, from Popish Oppression; into mutual quarrellings; that so by these, some advantages might be given to them to bring about their designs; and that both in the Election of the Members of Parliament, and afterwards in the Parliament it self. For they see well that if all Protestants could enter into a mutual good Understanding, one with another, and Concur together, in the preserving of their Religion, it would not be possible for them to compasse their wicked ends. They have also required all Persons in the several Counties of *England*, that either were in any Imployment, or were in any Considerable Esteem, to declare before hand, that they would concur in the Repeal of the *Test* and *Penal Laws*; and that they would give their voices in the Elections to Parliament, only for such as would concur in it. Such as would not thus prelingage themselves were turned out of all Imployments. And others who entred into those engagements, were put in their places, many of them being Papists: and contrary to the Charters and Privileges of those Burroughs, that have a right to send Burgesses to Parliament, they have ordered such Regulations to be made, as they thought fit and necessary, for assuring themselves of all the Members, that are to be chosen by those Corporations, and by this means they hope to avoid that Punishment which they have deserved: tho it is apparent, that all Acts made by Popish Magistrates are null and void of themselves. So that no Parliament can be Lawful, for which the Elections and Returns are made by Popish Sheriffs and Majors of Towns; and Therefore as long as the Authority and Magistracy is in such hands, it is not possible to have any Lawful Parliament. And tho according to the Constitution of the English Government, and Immemorial Custome, all Elections of Parliament men ought

ought to be made with an Entire Liberty, without any sort of force, or the requiring the Electors to choose such persons as shall be named to them, and the Persons thus freely Elected, ought to give their Opinions freely, upon all Matters that are brought before them, having the good of the Nation ever before their Eyes, and following in all things the dictates of their Consciences, yet now the People of England cannot expect a Remedy from a free Parliament, Legally Called and Chosen. But they may perhaps see one Called, in which all Elections will be settled by Fraud or Force, and which will be Composed of such Persons, of whom those Evil Councellours hold themselves well assured, in which all things will be carried on according to their Direction and Interest, without any regard to the Good or Happiness of the Nation. Which may appear Evidently from this, that the same Persons cried the Members of the last Parliament, to pass them to Consent to the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws, and procured that Parliament to be dissolved, when they found that they could not, neither by Promises nor Threatnings, prevail with the Members to Comply with their wicked Designs.

But to Crown all, there are Great and Violent Presumptions, inducing us to Believe, that those Evil councellours in order to the carrying on of their ill Designs, and to the Gaining to themselves the more time for the Effecting of them, for the encouraging of their Complices, and for the discouraging of all good Subjects, have published that the *Queen* hath brought forth a *Son*; tho there have appeared both during the *Queens* pretended Bigness, and in the manner how both the Birth was managed so many just and Visible grounds of Suspicion, that not only we our selves, but all the good Subjects of these Kingdoms, do Vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was not born by the Queen. And it is notoriously known to all the World, that many both doubted of the Queens Bigness, and of the Birth of the Child, and yet there was not any one thing done to satisfie them, or to put an end to their Doubts.

And since our Dearest and most Entirely Beloved Consort, the Princesse, and likewise we *Our selves*, have so great an Interest in this Matter, and such a Right, as all the world knows, to the Succession to the Crown; Since also the English did in the year 1672. when the States General of the *United Provinces* were invaded, in a most unjust war, use their utmost Endeavours to putt an end to that War, and that in opposition to those who were then for the Continuance of it, by which so doing, they run the hazard, of losing both the favour of the Court, and their Employments, and since the English Nation has ever testified a most particular affection and Esteem, both to our Dearest Consort the Princesse, and to *Our Selves*, We cannot excuse our selves from espousing their Interests, in a matter of such high Consequence, and from Contributing all that lies in us, for the Maintaining both of the Protestant Religion, and of the Laws and Liberties of those Kingdoms, and for the Securing to them, the Conclusal Enjoyment of all their just Rights. To the doing of which, We are most Earnestly Solicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and other Subjects of all Ranks.

THEREFORE it is, that we have thought fit, to go over to England, and to Carry over with us a force, sufficient, by the blessing of God, to defend us from the Violence of those Evil Councellours. And We being desirous that our Intendons in this, may be rightly Understood, have for this end prepared this *Declaration*, in which as we have hitherto given a True Account of the Reasons Inducing us to it, So we now think fit to DECLARE that this our expedition, is intended for no other design, but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled, as soon as is possible; and that in order to this, all the late charters by which the Elections of Burgesses are limited, contrary to the Ancient customs, shall be considered as null and of no force: and likewise all Magistrates who have been lojustly turned out, shall forthwith resume their former Imployments, as well as all the Borroughs of *England* shall return again to their Ancient Prescription and charters. And more particularly that the Ancient charter of the great and Famous City of London, shall again be in force and that the Writs for the Members of Parliament shall be addressed to the Proper Officers, according to Law and custome. That also none be suffered to chose, or to be chosen Members of Parliament, but such as are qualified by Law: And that the Members of Parliament being thus lawfully chosen they shall meet and sit in Full Freedom; That so the two Houses may concur in the preparing of such Laws, as they upon full and free debate, shall Judge necessary and convenient, both for the confirming and explaining the Law concerning [illegible] and such other Laws, as are necessary for the Security and Maintenance of the Protestant

Protestant Religion; as likewise for making such Laws as may establish a good agreement between the Church of England, and all Protestant Dissenters, as also for the effectual securing of all such, who will live Peaceably under the Government, as becomes good Subjects, from all persecution upon the account of their Religion, even Papists themselves not excepted, and for the doing of all other things, which the Two Houses of Parliament shall find necessary for the Peace, Honour, and Safety of the Nation, so that there may be no more danger of the Nations falling at any time hereafter, under Arbitrary Government.

To this Parliament we will also refer the Enquiry into the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, and of all things relating to it and to the right of Succession.

And we for our part will concur in every thing, that may procure the Peace, and Happiness of the Nation, which a free and Lawful Parliament shall determin; Since we have nothing before your eyes in this our undertaking, but the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, the covering of all men from Persecution for their Consciences, and the securing to the whole Nation the free enjoyment of all their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a Just and Legal Government.

This is the design, that we have proposed to our selves in appearing upon this occasion in Armes: In the conduct of which, We will keep the Forces under our Command, under all the Strictnes of Martial Discipline: and take a special Care, that the People of the Countries thro which we must march, shall not suffer by their means: and as soon as the State of the Nation, will admit of it, we promise that we will send back all those Forreign Forces, that we have brought along with us.

We do therefore hope that all People will judge rightly of us, and approve of these our Proceedings: but we chiefly rely on the blessing of God, for the Success of this our undertaking, in which we place our whole and only Confidence.

We do in the last place invite and require all Persons whatsoever, All the Peers of the Realme, both Spiritual and Temporal, all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and all Gentlemen, Citizens and other Commons of all ranks, to come and assist us, in order to the executing of this our Design, against all such as shall endeavour to Oppose us; that so we may prevent all those Miseries, which must needs follow upon the Nation, being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery: And that all the Violences and disorders, which have overturned the whole Constitution of the English Government, may be fully redressed, in a Free and Legal Parliament.

And we do likewise resolve that as soon as the Nations are brought to a state of quiet, We will take care there a Parliament shall be called in Scotland, for the restoring the Ancient Constitution of that Kingdom, and for bringing the Matters of Religion to such a Settlement, that the people may live easy and happy, and for putting an end to all the Injoft Violences, that have been in a course of so many years Committed there.

We will also [illegible] may be Religiously observed: and that the Protestant and British interest there, may be secured. And we will endeavour by all possible means, to procure such an establishment in all the Three Kingdoms that they may all live in a happy Union and correspondence together; and that the Protestant Religion, and the Peace, Honour, and Happiness of those Nations, may be established upon lasting Foundations.

Given under our Hand and Seal at our Court in the Hague, the Tenth day of October in the year of our Lord 1688.

WILLIAM HENRY: PRINCE OF ORANGE.

By his Highneſſes ſpecial Command.

C: HUYGENS.

THus you have an exact and full Account of the Prince of Orange's Declaration: and can you find one word of a Treaty with France, to extirpate all Proteſtants? or can you Imagine that if they had the leaſt reaſon for ſuch a talk, they who aggravate every little thing would let this Declaration paſs without the leaſt mentioning of what ſo momentous and important? And is there any thing more than a Violent preſumption ſuggeſted about the Prince of Wales? And is the very noiſe of ſuch a Preſumption reaſon enough to juſtifie a real War? As for the other things urg'd, are they not redreſſable by a Parliament, and ſo far as it is poſſible without one already Redreſſed? 'Tis a Parliament then that is the main thing to be inſiſted on, which, though choſen as the laſt was, would be too feeble an argument to clear the preſent Invaſion from the charge of being Injuſt and Unrighteous.

The great Men of this Kingdom ever thought a Parliament Irregularly choſen more eligible than either a War, or a raſh Enquiry into the manner of the choiſe. Did Queen Elizabeth's Parliament admit of a words being ſpoken to bring Queen *Maries* Parliament into doubt? Did they not look on it as moſt dangerous to do ſo? And although by the triennial Bill the long Parliament in the late Kings Reign, was actually diſſolved nine Moneths before it thought on the Repeal thereof, yet even after 'twas deſtroyed, the Diſſolved Parliament ſate and repealed the Diſſolving Bill, and made the conventicle Act, the *Teſt* Laws, repealed the Writ De Heretico Comburendo, and paſſed the Habeas corpus bill, into a Law. But was the aſſembly that Acted thus Irregularly, ever called to an Account for it, or any of their Laws declared void and Null? Or was it ever eſteemed a Good Reaſon, for a War? And yet this is much more than hath been ever done by his preſent *Majeſty*, Beſides 'twas the late King that took away the Charters, and thoſe, who were entering on violent Courſes for their Reſtauration, were proclaimed Traytors, and ſeveral executed for it, whilſt all the pulpits throughout England ſounded of the Horridneſs, blackneſs, Vileneſs, Deviliſhneſs of that Conſpiracy; And is what was black and Horrid then, become Noble, Great, Generous, and Glorious now?

Thus much was alſo a part of the late Duke of *Monmouth*'s Declaration, and yet a Parliament choſen by the Garbled Corporations proclaim'd him a Traitor, and Attainted him; But doth the Blood of *Monmouth* as well as of the forementioned Conſpirators, and of all thoſe in the *Weſt* ly on the Judges, Juries, Nobility, and other Gentry of the Church of *England*, that had a hand in condemning ſuch as by violent *Methods* would have reſtored the Charters. If theſe things could not vindicate the Presbyterian Plotters in the late King's Reign, or *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, it cannot excuſe the preſent Undertaking, for this doth infinitely

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exceed these, and the late Civil War too, for neither of them brought in a forraign power upon us, as now is done.

But it must be observed, that how great soever our Grievances have been, yet now, all that Relief can reasonably be desired is granted us. The Ecclesiastical Commission, actually broken up, the Bishop of *London*, The Masters and Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledge, and the ancient Charters of Cities and Burroughs actually restored, all things on the ancient Bottom, for the Calling a free Parliament, which His Majesty would have done before this time, had not the *Prince* of *Orange* hindred him, and assoon as the Prince of *Orange* departs, the King will call one, whereby all the *Prince*'s pretentions are taken away, and nothing more remains for him to do, but to return home, or contend for the Crown.

Yet the *Prince* would have us believe, that though he is not satisfied with this, yet he intends no such thing as the *Crown*, or a *Conquest* of us, as appears by his Highnesses Additional Declaration.

His Highnesses Additional Declaration.

AFter We had prepared and printed this our Declaration, We have understood, that the subverters of the Religion and Laws of those Kingdoms, hearing of our preparations, to assist the people against them, have begun to retract some of the Arbitrary and Despotick powers, that they had assumed, and to vacate some of their Injust Judgments and Decrees. The sense of their Guilt, and the distrust of their force, have induced them to offer to the City of London some seeming release from their Great Oppressions: hoping thereby to quiet the people, and to divert them from demanding a Reestablishment of their Religion and Laws under the Shelter of our Arms: They do also give out that we do intend to Conquer and Enslave the Nation; And therefore It is that we have thought fit to adde a few words to our Declaration.

We are Confident, that no persons can have such hard thoughts of us, as to imagine that we have any other Design in this Undertaking, then to procure a settlement of the Religion and of the Liberties and properties of the subjects upon so sure a Foundation, that there may be no danger of the Nations relapsing into the like miseries at any time hereafter. And as the Forces that we have brought alongs with us are utterly disproportioned to that wicked Design of Conquering the Nation, if we were capable of Intending it, so the Great Numbers of the principal Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of Eminent Quality and Estates, and persons of known Integrity and Zeal, both for the Religion and Government of England, many of them being also distinguished by their Constant fidelity to the Crown, Who do both accompany us in this Expedition, and have earnestly solicited us to it, will cover us from all such Malicious Insinuations. For it is not to be imagined, that either those who have *Invited* us, or these that are already come to assist us can joyn in a wicked attempt of Conquest, to make void their own lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates and Interests: We are also Confident that all men see how little Weight there is to be laid, on all promises and Engagements that can be now made: since there has been so little regard had in time past, to the most solemn Promises. And as that Imperfect Redresse that is now offered, is a plain Confession of those Violations of the Government, that We have set forth, so the Defectiveness of it is no lesse Apparent: for they lay down nothing which they may not take up at pleasure: and they reserve entire and not so much as mentioned, their claimes and pretences to an Arbitrary and Despotick power; which has been the root of all their Oppression, and of the total subversion of the Government; and it is plain, that there can be no redresse nor Remedy offered but in Parliament: by a Declaration of the Rights of the Subjects that have been invaded: and not by any pretended Acts of Grace, to which the extremity of their affairs has driven them. Therefore It is that we have thought fit

to declare, that We will refer all to a Free Assembly of the Nation, in a Lawful Parliament.

Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Court in the Hague, the 24. day of October in the year of our Lord 1688.

William Henry, Prince of Orange.

By his Highnesses special Command.

C. Huygens.

THis Addition doth very fully unfold the Design, the Prince will abide amongst us with a Forraign Power, and make the choice of a Parliament impracticable, and therefore the Call of one a weak and foolish thing, and yet oblige us to distrust every promise the King makes us, leaving what is done, and insinuating that all things shall be soon undone. And why all these Insinuations, but to help us to Unravel the whole Intreague, which, if it be not for the Crown, must be thus. The *Dutch* knowing how the Prince hath ravished from them their Liberties and privileges, and what danger they are in of being utterly undone, if *Liberty of Conscience* be settled amongst us in *England*, precipitate the Prince on this hazardous undertaking, not doubting but they shall be either delivered from the Princes Exercise of a Despotick power over them, or spoil our Liberty, to the continuance and advance of their own Trade; which may be the reason why in the entrance into the Declaration, what relates to *Religion* is so worded as to gain the Bishops over to them, the more easily to effect their design, for sayes the Declaration, the Alteration of Religion is endeavoured, and that a *Religion* which is contrary to Law is endeavoured to be introduced; it is not said, that the *Popish* Religion, but a Religion contrary to the Law, and it's well known, that the Laws are against the Religion of the Dissenters, and the Prince's Endeavour shall be to preserve and maintain above all the *Religion and Worshipof God, that is established amongst us*, which cannot be understood of the Worship the Dissenters use, but of the Hierarchical way, that is, as contrary to the Prince's own Religion, as 'tis to that of the Dissenters in *England*. And to perswade the Churchmen to close with him, He Declares, That he was most earnestly solicited to come over by the Lords *Spiritual*, not doubting, but that if the belief thereof prevail amongst the Mobile, they will be all of Opinion, that the Prince's Grounds are most Just and Reasonable, so that though it cannot be made out, by any thing particularly known, yet this general carrying a thousand unheard of Arguments in its bowels, cannot fail of success.

But what if this prove not True? May we afterwards venture to believe his Highnesse in any thing, which under a violent Temptation, he may be, as now, moved to declare? The Prince insists on it, That many of the *Lords* Spiritual did most earnestly sollicite him to Invade us, and yet the *Lords* Spiritual do not only declare, That they look on this Invasion to be sinful, but, that they never sollicited his coming; And it must be acknowledged, that they could do no such thing without acting most contrary to their Avowed Principles, and contrary to most solemn *Oaths*, and *Declarations*, and Men should take heed, how they receive this Report against the *Right Reverend Bishops*; the Design in which they are said to Embarque being founded on that very Principle: in pursuance of which the Head of *Charles* the blessed Martyr was brought to the Block, and Embarque they cannot, but by joyning with

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a Foreign Army, the chief part of which is made up of those, who though they would willingly enough enſnare our Biſhops, cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed to be true in the promiſes they make about ſupporting their Hierarchical Grandeur, the utmoſt they muſt expect in the long-run can be no more than a turning their Lands into Money, that to the end their dependence on the Government may be the more effectually ſecured, inſtead of their preſent Lands, Leaſes, they may have an yearly Salary anſwerable to their worth and deſert, which as 'twill be uncertain, ſo it cannot be hoped that its utmoſt height ſhall ariſe to the State and Degree of a Baron, for Baronies go with their Lands. By this you may ſee how unlikely any ſort of *Engliſhmen* ſhould by this Invaſion gain any thing but Miſery.

ANIMADVERSIONS

Animadversions upon the Declaration of his Highness the *Prince* of *Orange*.

THE Great Preparations for War *in Holland*, were long talked of here as very unconcerning News. Besides the perpetual assurances of their Embassador, that they were not designed this way, every body knew the Influence which his Highnesse the Prince of *Orange* has upon that Country; and it could not sink into their Heads, that He, who was Born of one Daughter of *England*, and Married to another, would ever suffer the peace of a Countrey to be disturbed, for which Nature Sollicited a Feeling Tendernesse. Even they who reflected, that Politicks sometimes sway more than Nature, as possible as they thought it that he might be moved to suffer it to be done by some body, in whom it would shew lesse Shocking, thought it absolutely impossible he should ever be moved to bring Fire and Sword into *England* himself, and Personally, Fight against his Father-in Law, and Uncle. When we found our incredulity had deceived us, we cast about to discover what unsufferable Provocations he had received, what Injuries beyond Satisfaction, what affronts to be Revenged with no lesse than the Ruin of a Nation; in fine, what just cause of War there could be. And we impatiently waited for the Declaration of his Highnesse, in which we expected to find all this. Now it is come, we are more at a losse than before. War must shed a great deal of Blood; make numberlesse Widows and Orphans, whose Tears will go up to Heaven, and Cries be heard; Desolate the Nation; change our Plenty into Beggary; and bring a Thousand Calamities. This Blood, and these Miseries will one Day be required from the Authors. And we perceive nothing in the World to justifie all this, but the very Stories which we hear from those, who make it their businesse to Slander the Government, and Incense the People, of whom there are too many in every Nation, and to whom we little thought his Highnesse would have afforded the Countenance of his Name. Since he has thought fit to do it, I shall, in respect, forbear to Contest it with his Highnesse, as much as I perceive he is Misinformed, farther than is just necessary for our own Resolutions and actions. His declaration Sollicits us to joyn with his Arms; and I conceive we ought to be very well assured the Reasons offered will justifie us to God and Man, before we break our Natural and Sworn Allegeance, and forfeit our Honour in this World, and Interest in the next, by Deserting, or Fighting against our King, and Gods Anointed, before we tear out the Bowels of Our Mother Country with our own Hands, and do things for which his Highnesse himself shall always think us, and if he prevail, one day Treat us as Traytors and Rebels. For a Traytor is sure to be hated, even by him who loves the Treason.

The Declaration begins with telling us, That *the Publick Peace cannot be preserved, where the Laws are openly transgressed, and a Religion contrary to Law endeavered to be introduced.* And that *those who are next immediately concerned are indispensably bound to preserve them.* This may be as true as it will for any concern which *England*, or his Highness has in it. *England* whatever be, is not the Countrey in which these things are done. The Execution indeed of some Laws is Suspended, Laws it seems not necessary to the Publick Peace, since the Declaration inform us, his Highnesse intends they should be taken away; And this Suspension, by those who should know, is thought

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to be warranted, not forbidden by Laws; and his Highneſs, I fancy, would be of their Opinion himſelf, if the caſe were his own. Happy we, if nothing would ſubvert our Peace, and tranſgreſs our Laws more than this Suſpenſion.

But to make theſe things, the Ground of an Invaſion, which muſt intirely ſubvert our Peace, and, if it prevail, our Laws, and leave us none, but at the Mercy of an Arbitrary Sword; which cannot begin without notoriouſly tranſgreſſing the Laws of God and Nations; not be abetted without undiſguiſable tranſgreſſing the Laws of the Land; has palpably ſome other aim, than the care of our Peace and Laws.

What endeavours to introduce Popery his Highneſſe means, I cannot tell: The King (to my thinking) has bounded his Favour to that religion, with the ſingle deſire of ſeeing his Papiſt Subjects in the ſame condition with the reſt, and is pleaſed, to bate even of that. Had he deſigned to introduce their Religion, he would certainly never have made it impoſſible to be introduced. For an Univerſal Liberty unites the intereſt of every Religion, againſt the prevailing of any one, and Excludes Popery from all hopes of ever Domineering in *England*. But let the deſigns of Papiſts be never ſo irreligious, booted *Miſſionaries*; I take it, are no miniſters of the Goſpel in the Reformed Religion, nor bare endeavours to do bad Actions, a Warrant actually to do bad Actions, and the worſt of them.

After all, were our Caſe as bad as the Declaration repreſents it, How comes his Highneſs to be concerned in it? It is in his own words, *certain and evident to all Men*, that Sovereign States, whether Monarchies, or Common-wealths, are independent, and have no Right to interpoſe, otherways than by friendly Offices, in one anothers Affairs, but violate the Laws of Nations as often as they do. Every Government holds within it ſelf, all thoſe who are concerned in the Redreſſe of Abuſes, when they happen, and the Laws inform us who they are. Nor is any thing more inconſiſtent with Government, than the interpoſition of Forreign Powers, nor more deeply reſented by the Laws of all Nations, than a being of it. Turn the Tables, and let all theſe diſmal Stories, as ſome perhaps are, be told of *Holland*, and be never ſo true; I refer it to all Mankind, to *Holland*, to his Highneſſe himſelf, whether the King of *England* would not paſſe for a very bad Neighbour, and a very bad Man, if he ſhould take the cognizance from the States, and himſelf, compoſe their Diſorders by War: The immediate Concern inſinuated, relates, I ſuppoſe to the proſpect of Succeſſion; to which, if the calamities of War be the proofs of his tender Affection to our Nation, it will ſoon wiſh, the Right of his Highneſſe were farther removed, than it is: tho it has now pleaſed God, the Right ſhould not be immediate, even in his Royal Conſort. But the moſt immediate Right to Succeed, is no Right to intermeddle before the Succeſſion falls. I am Succeſſor to my Father, but cannot therefore diſpoſe of his Eſtate, chuſe his Tenants for him, and appoint what Covenants he ſhal make in his Leaſes, any more than a ſtranger to his Bloud.

And yet it follows, that *upon theſe Grounds, his Highneſſe can no longer forbear to Declare, that Counſellors, in chief Credit with the King have openly overturned Religion and the Laws, and ſubjected them in all things relating to Conſcience, Liberty and Property to Arbitrary Government.* If thoſe were the true Grounds of his Highneſſe, he could as little forbear to Declare againſt many, perhaps all Nations, in which there are more rational, and more real cauſes of complaint to be found, by one, who would look after them. But put it to Mankind, and all Mankind muſt Declare, that theſe Grounds are no Grounds, and which no party will allow to juſtify another which diſturbs them. Put it to the Nation, and all the Nation muſt Declare, that every Man enjoys his Conſcience, his Liberty and his Property, even to the Envy of their leſſe happy Neighbours, and that there has been no proceeding againſt a ſingle Man, but for his ſingle Miſdemeanor, and this not by Arbitrary, but Legal, Power. And then to aſperſe

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His Majesty without turning all Laws, under the name of evil Counsellors! why, let his counsellors be never so bad, they are worse, whose Service his Highnesse has used in framing this Declaration. Men, whose brains reach no farther, than to Copy from their Rebellious Ancestors of 41. by whose example it is too easily known, what they meant by Evil Counsellors, and what they intended to do with Him. And yet his Highnesse lends his Name to such Men, and giving Credit to such Counsellors himself, talks of Evil Counsellors, in Credit with the King.

To these general Premisses, the Declaration adds a List of particulars; evidence of the first in the *Dispensing Power*. And this his Highnesse takes the pains to moot, and tell us how far it goes, and where it must stop, and that a *Dispensation has been obtained for it* from the Judges. Those Judges should in reason understand the matter better, than those, on whose Information his Highnesse has thought fit to rely. As I take it for a Parliamentary Business, I leave it unto it, to the Wisdom of a Parliament, believing, all I can say, will be said and considered there, and resolving to acquiesce in their determination. In the mean time; How does this justifie Foreign Arms? Here is the Case. Kings are not bred at Inns of Court, but must trust Lawyers for Law, as well as Physicians for Physick. The oppression of Conscience-Laws, dealers His Majesties Ears with perpetual Complaints, and His tenderness of His Subjects prompts Him to relieve them. He adviseth with those of the Profession, and they inform Him, He may, by his Dispensing Power, relieve them Legally, and he does it. Every body is not content, and he refers the whole to a publick Legal Tryal. Pray what better, or other Advice could his Highnesse have given? What could he do more himself, if it had been his own Case? And if I may be so bold, Does he always do so much? Unfortunate Majesty! and Unfortunate Mankind! if every Nation must be justly Liable to the calamities of War, in which a King happens to have a Counsellor, who in point of a Law of his own Country, differs in Opinion from a Prince of another.

Upon this Point it is further Declared, that *these Evil Counsellors strictly examined the Opinions of the Judges, and procured such to be found out, as would not in Conscience concur in their pernicious Sentence*. Why? then those bad Counsellors were not bad enough to desire Men should Act against their Conscience, and the pernicious Sentence was given according to Conscience. But this again is His Highnesses Case. He has the nomination of Men to Employments, as well as the King. And I humbly refer it to his Conscience, whether before he nominate, he do not satisfy himself that his Nominee be a Man on whom he may rely, for the Service which he expects from him. Is it justice to fall out with the King for doing what he does Himself, and all Princes in the World, and all private Men, who have employments at their disposal?

After minding us that we have a Crowned King, and have had Laws enacted in *England* for preservation of our Rights, Liberties and Religion; The Declaration repeats again, that *Evil Counsellors have in effect annulled all those Laws*, contrary to *the Kings Promise and Oath*, Strange descant upon this short plain Song. *The King has Dispensed with one Law*, and that in the interval of Parliament, from which he promises Himself, it will be taken away, and which the Parliament design'd by his Highnesse, as free as it shall *be*, we find by the Declaration, *must* take away, and this upon Information which he had reason to trust, that he might, according to Law. Will the Rhetorick of his Highnesses Penmen, make this pass for a breach of Promise and Oath, for annulling and abolishing all Laws, when we see with our Eyes, the establisht Religion actually maintained, and assist every day at the Divine Service of it, when we see the Judges Sit, and Suiters obtain effectual Decrees and Sentences from them, and effectual execution elsewhere; when we see no Dispensation, nor inclination to it in any thing, save in relief of an Oppression, which the whole Nation, as far as I per-

Question, consent should not be continued. We humbly pray his Highness, in stead of the Liberty held forth by his Invasion, to afford us the Liberty of Britains, our own Laws, and Religion as established by Parliament, and to think we actually enjoy our Religion and Laws, as much as they would persuade us, there is no such thing in Nature.

But can our Case were as desperable, as their frightful Text would make it, what Remedy can we hope from the Desperation? All Human Affairs are subject to the miscarriages, Infirmities, and Passions of Nature. When they happen among us, the Wisdom of our Nation has always chosen the best way of Redress is by Parliament. Nor ye, could never think Rocking out Mens Brains, a proper remedy for miscarriages about Religion, nor plundering, a burning apt to set right the sway of Law. And we again pray his Highness, rather to let us alone in our Misery, than make us happy this way. For as sure as made, the Hippocrit would be incomparably the more unsupportable Misery.

After all, what would his Highness have done in the Case? and what can be done more, than to leave none of those things in being, of which he complains? And so much his Highness owns to be done before he set Sail from *Holland*, The Ecclesiastical Commission was broken; the Suspension of the Bishop of *London* taken off, *Magdalens* College restored, Chancellors and Arch-deacons discharged of their attendance; Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and the rest replaced; and Charters returned. As it is palpable, that his Highness comes not to redress things, which he knows were redressed already, it is palpable that we have Reason of his coming alledged which are not his Reason, and too much ground to argue from one to all and conclude, we have not one just Reason offered, but are amused with pretences apt to work upon us, but which no way moves his Highness.

There is mention before of Popish Chappels, and Schools, and Communities, all these consequences of *Liberty of Conscience*. People cannot exercise their Religion, without places in which to exercise it, neither is there any complaint of the Meeting places of their fellow Dissenters, nor can I understand why his Highness excepts against their Chappels, who Declares, he will not accept them from the *Liberty of Conscience*. Again, Parents always breed up their Children in their own way; And if Papists have allowed Schools, they will be less abroad, to spread them, what is there more for the Subjects of the Nation, should be afraid of? Nor are those things to Foreign Customs, and perhaps, Foreign Principles, not so grateful to the Nation, whereas here they might be watched. But cannot the King and Parliament compose this matter without bloodshed? Is the Question whether a Boy shall go to School in *England* or *Flanders*, so very material, and so very intricate, that nothing but Arms can decide it? As for their Commissions, it stands not with Nature, that a King should not chuse some of his own way to trust with Commissions, when he is perswaded he lawfully may. With all my heart I wish, that the greater readiness, and greater fidelity of others in the defence of their Prince and Country, may convince him, and all the World, that he has made an ill choice.

But to see whither Exaggeration will go! *All matters of Civil Justice*, according to the Declaration, *are brought to great uncertainties: Evil Counsellors rendered Masters of the Affairs of the Church, the Government of the Nation, and the Course of Justice*, and all by these Commissions to Papists: And yet all this signifies barely three or four Judges at most, some Justices of Peace, and some Officers in the Army: Can a few, and those puny Judges (for there are no others) master the Causes of Justice? Can a few Officers, mean Subalterns, with Soldiers, not one to fifty of their Religion, master the Affairs of the Church and welfare of Nation? In which, if all the Papists were armed, and the rest naked, their Pikes and Muskets could not defend them against a Volley of Stones. Can Masters of Civil Justice be brought to great Uncertainties by the Incapacity of Papists, who have no less Capacity upon them? The Law indeed forbids them to be employed, but if they be, there is no Infallibly laid upon their Incapacity, if the Law had put it, his Highness has dispens'd with it; for an Invasion especially from Holland to save his Country, is little breaking out, to save his House. But it is incomprehensible, that the *Irish* should be mentioned, and the danger in the Nation is of Slavery from them, when if his Highness had not brought them in, they never been here to fright us. As sure that King's Subjects here may be as safely here, as absolute Foreigners; and if Strangers can safely be inconsistent with our Liberties, 'tis certain that whatever be the business of his Highness Army, our Freedom is gone.

And this appears the more, the farther we go. All his Majesties Dominions are taken precisely after

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into the care of his Highneſs, and 'tis repreſented as a diſmal Matter, that Papiſts are employed in *Ireland*, and that the King's Power is in *Scotland* declared *Abſolute*, and Subjects to obey *without Reſerve*. Now theſe are the very words of a Law enacted in *Scotland*, by a very free Parliament, held under a Commiſſioner, upon whom, there never fell any Imputation of Popery. His Highneſs is ſparing in this Point. It is ſaid farther by the Parliament, That the Bleſſings of *Scotland*, are next to God, owing to the uninterrupted Line of the Kings, and to that ſolid abſolute Authority, and that their Kings are inveſted with it by the firſt and fundamental Laws of their Monarchy. But Parliaments, it ſeems, muſt exerciſe no Freedom, but according to the pleaſure of a ſupervising Foreign Sword, though I ſhould think it ſomthing early to declare it. In *Ireland*, the Laws exclude not Papiſts from Employments; and 'tis again refer'd to the Conſcience of his Highneſs, Whether he would think it reaſonable, his Neighbours ſhould exclaim and infame the People againſt him, for diſpoſing Employments as the Law allows, and themſelves reſolve the Matter to be ſo heinouſly unjuſt, that any of them has right to revenge it upon his Country with the Miſeries of War? Who ſhall hope to pleaſe his Highneſs, when he thinks fit, at once, to diſlike breaking Laws in *England*, making them in *Scotland*, and keeping them in *Ireland*.

But theſe inſufferable Oppreſſions, have put the Subjects under juſt Fears, and made them look after ſuch lawful Remedies, as are allowed of in all Nations. I hope his Highneſs does not mean, riſing in Arms againſt their King, and calling in Foreign Enemies, by lawful Remedies, whatever other Nations do, ours allows this for nothing but Treaſon, and Rebellion, nor, I much ſuſpect, any Nation in the World beſides: And yet thoſe lawful Remedies muſt ſure be Remedies not authorized by Law; for the Declaration makes ſuch means barr'd by evil Counſellors: The Inſtance is in the Biſhops Petition. Now as unqueſtionably legal as a Petition is, there may be an illegal Petition; whether this were ſo, or no, the King deſired ſhould be legally tryed; And a Tryal there was, in which, the direct Point (as I am informed) came not to Iſſue, but *Not guilty* found upon no proof of matter of Fact. A Peer too is mentioned to be treated as a Criminal, for ſaying the Orders of a Popiſh Juſtice were not to be obeyed. And all his Criminal treatment was to refer him to the ordinary courſe of Law, where he likewiſe waved the direct Point by collateral Exceptions: Where may the Oppreſſion be, and where the frightful Apprehenſions of loſs of Life, Liberty, Honour, and Eſtate, in all this? Are Judicial Proceedings already threatned, and barr'd? And muſt we have an Army to revenge the wrongs of the Biſhops, and a Peer, who I believe, themſelves complain of none done them? Nor can, without complaining that the Law has wrong'd them, even when it acquitted them.

What ſignifications have been made, and what Expedients propoſed by their Highneſſes to his Majeſty, is not come to my knowledge. But if the ſame Adviſers were uſed in their ſuggeſtions, which have been in this Declaration, it is very likely the King might be ſenſible, they were too ill informed of the Affairs of *England*, to take their Advice. If Evil Counſellors have endeavoured to perſwade the King, that his Highneſs deſign'd to diſturb the Quiet and Happineſs of the Kingdom, I am infinitely ſorry he would be at all this pains to juſtifie them. For 'tis impoſſible to believe he actually came hither, without deſign to come, or that the War he brings with him will not diſturb our Peace, and the Miſeries of it our Happineſs.

What follows is paſt my underſtanding: *The laſt undigeſted Remedy for all our Evils is the Calling of a Parliament.* So indeed all Engliſhmen, think, and ſo His Majeſty thought, who call'd One. Happy we, if his Highneſs had been of the ſame Opinion?

Opinion? but to our Misery, he is not, who when One was call'd would not let it sit, but in stead of it brought in Evils past the Remedy even of a Parliament. For Votes are not Cannon proof. *But a Parliament could not yet compassed, nor can it be easily brought about.* Too sadly true: For it is neither easy, nor possible, to bring about a Parliament, when defenceless People must break through a Foreign Army to meet and elect. Before it was so possible to compass, that it was compass'd. Writs were actually gone out, and Elections begun, which were not stopt by Evil Counsellors. But *these Evil Counsellors apprehended, they should be brought to an account for their Plots and Conspiracies against the Protestant Religion, and have endeavoured, under the specious Pretence of Liberty of Conscience, to sow Divisions among them, between the Church of* England, *and Dissenters, that, by their mutual Quarrellings, They might bring about their Designs, both in the Election of Members, and in the Parliament it self.* Why then they design'd a Parliament should sit, as evil as they were, and as much as they feared to be called to account. But if Liberty of Conscience be a Plot against Protestants, his Highness must needs be of it himself, who declares for it. Must we believe the same thing, practised by His Majesty, will divide Protestants, and by his Highness establish a good Agreement? Then the asking People their Opinion beforehand, the Charters, Popish Sheriffs and Mayors, are brought in again, only to conclude at last, that no Parliament can be lawful, for which the Elections and Returns are made by Papists; and therefore as long as the Authority and Magistracy are in such hands, it is not possible to have any lawful Parliament. How ill do they understand the Law of *England*, who penn'd this Declaration? Every body knows, that Elections are made by Freeholders and Freemen, not by Sheriffs and Mayors, and that a Papist may elect as legally as any body, and make a Return, if he be in Office, as Valid. Had his Highness suffered the Election to go on, we should have thought the Parliament very lawful; but shall not think so of a Parliament made by the Law of *Arms*, where we are chosen, and sit with the Sword at our Throats, we think, there is neither legality nor freedom; and that when for a Remedy of the impossibility of a lawful Parliament, there is prescribed an impossibility that it should be lawful, very ill State-Doctors have been called to Council.

The Declaration crowns all with the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, of which it says, That great and violent Presumptions induce his Highness to believe, that these evil Councellors have published, the Queen hath brought forth a Son, in order to their ill Designs; and that not only his Highness himself, but all the good Subjects of these Kingdoms, do vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was not born by the Queen. Such things to come abroad, with the Name of the Prince of *Orange* to them? And yet it is but too true, that there is a great deal of violence and vehemence in these Presumptions and Suspicions; so true, that there is in reality nothing else, neither presumption, nor Suspicion, indeed. And this violence, and this vehemence, must needs be infinitely great, which can Pretend Suspicions, not only utterly void of all Reason, but so palpably against it, that quite contrary to what the Declaration avers, there is neither a good Subject, nor a sensible Man, who harbours any Doubt in the case. And this Consideration, I suppose, has so long delay-

and doing any thing for publick Satisfaction. As it was not indeed very proper for the King to regard idle Fictions, invented and spread by Purely obstinate Malice: But now he has called the business to be examined, if we should take any, and suspect without Reason: I believe, it would trouble his Highness to clear his own or the Princesses Birth, as the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* is cleared: And guess, they would entertain the slightest suspicion with an impatient Scorn, and not allow the greatest vehemence in the World to suspect them into the Children of other Mothers, than the Princess of *Orange*, and Dutchess of *York*. But, as much to seek as we were, for a Reason in all alledg'd before, this questioning the Birth of the immediate Successor, speaks plain. We know now, what brought his Highness hither, and can give a shrewd guess at what will follow on his success: For if they be the only good Subjects, who believe not we have a Prince of *Wales*, they are like to be in a bad condition, who have either sense enough to perceive plain Truths, or Conscience enough to boggle at Perjury, or Memory enough to remember they have sworn Fidelity to the King, and his lawful Successors.

Beginning now to wind up, his Highness minds us of *the great interest which the Princess Royal and himself have in this matter*, and *of their Right to the Succession, such as all the World knows*: Of *the Endeavours we used for the United Provinces, when they were invaded, in a most unjust War in* 1672: Of *the particular Esteem and Affection, which the English Nation has ever testified to both their Highnesses*; And *therefore cannot excuse himself from espousing our Interests; to the doing of which, he is earnestly solicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, by many Gentlemen, and subjects of all Ranks*. In all which the only thing we can understand, is, the Succession, to which, their Highnesses do severally stand in that degree, which all the World knows. But there is not a Man in the World, who can understand, how those, who espouse the interest of another, because they have an interest of their own, espouse any interest but their own, nor could his Highness have told us more plainly, that he comes for himself, not us; that all alledged besides, is only for fashion-sake; and that we might sink or swim, for any care of his, if he had not been concerned himself. Again, because we did what we could for the *Dutch*, when they were unjustly invaded, no body can understand, how gratitude obliges them to invade us unjustly themselves; nor how the particular Affection and Esteem, which we have ever testified to their Highnesses, should deserve, that he should become our Enemy, and ruine us for our pains. As much Esteem and Affection, as the great Qualities of his Highness are like to meet every where, he will please to be informed, that the strongest Bond of ours, is his Alliance to the Royal Blood; and must pardon the *English*, if they love not a Man who hates our King, the very King, whose Sister and Daughter tyed our Affection to him: Then, who can understand, how making War upon us is espousing our Interest, our Religion, our Laws, our Liberties and Properties; our Interest, and we, beseech his Highness to have a little Mercy on us, and not to oblige us to believe, he espouses our Interest; by subjecting all we have to the mercy of a Lawless Sword. He must likewise pardon us, if we believe not on his Word, that many Lords, many of the Gentry, and of all Ranks, are Traytors, which if it were true, he rewards them betimes, and by exposing them to be punished by others,

till

till it be seasonable to do it himself, informs them what they must expect at last. But the Spiritual Lords and their principles are well known, and his Highness has experience what they are, in the first Bishop near whom he approached. He is like to meet the Temporal Lords, whom Age keeps out at home, or the King's Service employs not elsewhere, with the Gentry, and all Ranks, in the Field, and be better informed from themselves, that the *English* are no Traytors, and will take care to wipe off this Aspersion from the Nation. Alas! how little does his Highness know us! Many an unwary, and many a heated Man, speaks Treason here, who is for all that, honest at Heart, and will make it well appear he is, when there is occasion.

But, *Therefore it is that his Highness hath thought fit to go over to* England, *and carry with him a Force sufficient by the blessing of God, to defend him from the Violence of Evil Counsellors.* Unintelligible Language of Declarations of War! To Invaders, is called Defending Himself, and this where there is no fear of an Assault, or any danger, save from that very Force which he must needs bring to defend him. For, without it his single Name, not guarded so much as by a Footman, had found security, and veneration all *England* over.

After this *true account of inducing Reasons.* (Reasons, if it please his Penmen. For nothing looks like a Reason but one. *viz. Interest.*) his Highness thinks fit to declare his Intentions. As if there needed a Declaration to inform us what Pikes and Muskets intend. An Army intends nothing but to Master where it comes, the very same which the *Saxons* and *Normans*, and all Invaders from the beginning of the World to this day, intended, But his *Design is a free and lawful Parliament*; And for a Preparative, *the annulling of new, and returning of old Charters, particularly that of the City of* London: *Restoring of former Magistrates; addressing Writs to proper Officers*; And *suffering none to chuse, or be chosen, but such as are qualified by Law.* A Man no wiser than *I*, would think, that if his Highness designed nothing but this, he might very well have stayed at home. For all these Preparatives were, and he knew were made, before he went aboard. *And* a free and lawful Parliament had now been sitting, or ready to sit, if he would have let it. Without more ado, it is palpably impossible his Highness should come only to do over again, what he knew was done to his hand; only to get us a Parliament, which he will not suffer us to have, and this pretence must of necessity cover some Design, thought less taking with *Englishmen*.

This Parliament his Highness declares shall *meet* and *sit* in full freedom, but perhaps not *Act* so. For *the two Houses* must, it seems, *prepare Laws to confirm and execute the Test*; for *the security and maintenance of the Protestant Religion*; and *for a good Agreement between the Church of* England *and all Protestant Dissenters*; and *covering such from Persecution as will live peaceably, not excepting Papists.* But how will his Highness keep his Word, if a Parliament should happen to think the Test needs no Confirmation, nor Religion more Laws than are already, nor that any Laws can make the Church of *England* and Dessenters agree? However it be, they love to have it in their power to confirm, or alter, or abrogate, or let the Laws alone as they are according as the good of the Nation shall require, without having their Task prescribed. They take themselves for Master Workmen, and who can cut out their Work themselves, not for bare Journeymen, to make up Work cut out by others. But I would gladly know, what Protestant Religion means in the

Mouth of his Highneſs. In the Language of the Country where he was Born and Bred, right Proteſtancy ſignifies Presbytery, and he is ſaid to be ſurrounded by Men who ſo underſtand it, whereof ſome perhaps might have a hand in this Declaration. As the Religon, or *Church Eſtabliſhed by Law*, had been eaſily ſaid, if it had been meant, to my thinking the ſuſpicion is vehement, that this free Parliament with a *Holland* Trumpet in the Speakers Chair, is to ſet up Presbytery, at leaſt, I am very ſure it muſt, if that Trumpet ſound it; and there is but too much reaſon to expect it will ſound here as it does at home, eſpecially when there is not the leaſt intimation to the contrary. The pretended *Invitation* of the Spiritual Lords will be well towarded with a good agreement with their Defenceing Maſters, and being covered from perſecution, provided they hold themſelves content, and live peaceably. But the comfort is, nothing can better ſhew their Invitation is but pretended.

To this fully free Parliament *his Highneſs will refer the inquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of Wales*, to Vote him, I ſuppoſe, a Prince Pretty man, the Son of No body. For we know what the References of Conquerors ſignifie, and what the freedom of their *Arbitrators*. But it is time to leave talking, when ſuch things are ſaid, and think of other Weapons than Pens. Would his Highneſs be content to refer his own Birth? For though there be nothing of ſuſpicion in it, yet the nothing on his ſide is nearer to ſomething than on the ſide of the Prince of *Wales*. For one may ſuſpect that he who talks at this rate, was not born of an *Engliſh* Mother.

But after all, there wants ſomething ſtill. His Highneſs deſigns new Laws, but Acts, barely prepared, have not the perfection of Laws. Suppoſe the King ſhould proge really ſomewhere, and adviſe upon it? When his Highneſs has found an Expedient, *He will* himſelf *concur in every thing which may procure the Peace* (Witneſs his War) *and Happineſs of the Nation*, that is juſt what he pleaſes. *He will take care that a Parliament ſhall be called in* Scotland. *He will ſtudy to bring* Ireland *into a ſtate that the ſettlment be obſerved, and the Proteſtant and Britiſh intereſt ſecured And as ſoon as the ſtate of the Nation will admit, he promiſes to ſend back his Foraign Forces*, and in the mean time, *invites and requires all Peers, and all perſons whatſoever to come and aſſiſt him, againſt all ſuch as ſhall endeavour to oppoſe him.* That is in ſhort, He will be King of *England*. For none paſs *Bills* into Acts, by their Concurrence, but Kings. To take care for calling Parliaments, and for the ſettlement and ſecurity of the Kings Dominions, belongs to none but the King: And he who means to ſend his Forces away, certainly means to ſtay himſelf. And that we may not be ignorant, in what condition he means to ſtay, he takes the King upon him by way of *Anticipation*. For no body can require the aſſiſtance of all his Subjects of all ſorts, but the King. So many Stories in the Declaration of a Prince, which are the Entertainment of our Coffee-Houſes, and which we now perceive from whence they come; ſo many diſmal *Idea's* of our Miſery, who live a great deal more at eaſe than they do in *Holland*; ſo much Trouble, and ſo much Charge purely in Clemency to our Neighbours, for no other deſign than to have a free Parliament aſſembled, founded unſowardly, and we could not forebear to ſuſpect ſome deſign at the bottom, though we had not found it out. But, if he had not told us ſo himſelf, we ſhould hardly have ſuſpected, that *Intereſt* could have drawn the Prince of *Orange* to dethrone the

King,

King, unprince his Son, and seize the Crown for himself. But now we understand his Highness, we will endeavour his Highness shall understand us, and our Protestant Religion a little better than he does, We love our Prince, for all we can be angry, and talk more freely than they dare in other Countreys, and will sooner dye at their Feet, than Strangers shall injure, much less dethrone them. We love our Country, and we love our Honour, and before *England* shall become the prey of *Holland*, will take order they shall find nothing in it, but Grass and Trees, no Men for them to use as they did at *Amboina*: We profess a Protestant Religion, which teaches us, not to rise in Arms against our King, by whomsoever we are required, but true Loyalty and Fedility to him, and his lawful Successors, and to defend him against all attempts whatsoever against his Crown, Person, or Dignity, and the World shall see we are no bad Scholars of so good a Mistress. In a word, we know and we Honour *William Henry* prince of *Orange*, but we know not *William Henry* King of *England* otherwise than for an Enemy.

Animadversions upon the Additional Declarations of his Highness.

THE Premises are so very plain, that his Highness thought it necessary to take notice of them himself. *Against the Apprehensions of a Conquest, he alledges the disproportion of his Forces, and the joyning of English with him.* That disproportion is not his Fault, and would have been, tho he had brought *Holland* it self in his Fleet, and all the Men in it. But can he not design a Conquest for all that? We were Conquered by the *Normans*, and bare Twelve thousand *Swedes* bid fair for the Conquest of *Germany*, as little proportion as *Normandy* had to *England*, or *Sweden* to *Germany*. We can Conquer our selves, tho *Holland* cannot; which if we do, we Conquer for him under whom we Fight. For the General wins the Battel, who ever Fight it. And this of necessity his Highness must design, unless he design to be beaten. For Victory and Conquest are but two Names for one thing. Neither is he a Man to be at all this ado to make a Conquest, and not make the most of it when he has done; neither can he do otherwise tho he would. For as he has no Right to *Act* here by Law, he must of necessity *Act* by Right of Conquest. And we humbly beseech him not to declare us out of common Sense, and into a belief, that he is not *capable of intending*, what we see he is actually doing.

But Enemies to their Country, of all Men in the World, one would least expect should be magnified for *Integrity* and *Zeal*, and constant *Fidelity*, and who cannot joyn in a wicked attempt of Conquest, to make void their own lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates, and Interests. Must we believe again they cannot joyn in an Attempt in which his Highness himself tells us they do joyn? Nor void their Titles, when they actually did void them the very moment of the first Overt Act, which made it known they thought of that wicked Attempt? And then the Fidelity, the Integrity, and Zeal of Treason, is un-intelligible Language in *England*. But I have already observed, that his Highness speaks in the Language of a Protestant Religion, which is not established here, & in likelyhood never will by a Parliament truely free.

The Kings Concessions are treated as a *seeming Relief; pretended Acts of Grace; an imperfect Redress upon which no weight is to be laid, because Solemn Promises have been broken: a plain Confession of the Violation set forth in the Declaration, and defective; because they may a-*

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